

## **Resultatives in Korean, Japanese and English: Revisited from a Micro-Parametric Approach to Linguistic Variation**

**I. INTRODUCTION:** Linguistic variation across languages is often taken to arise due to a particular choice of parameter settings that determine language specific structural properties during acquisition. Cross-linguistic variation in resultatives (e.g., *wipe the table clean*) has also been handled by the same application; it has been argued that there is a parameter that distinguishes languages with adjectival resultatives (e.g., English) and those without (e.g., Spanish) (e.g., Beck and Snyder 2001). This paper, however, shows, that the previous parameter approaches to variation in resultatives is too coarse-grained as further fragmentation of the parameter is needed; there is not just two kinds of language in allowing adjective resultatives, but rather several as resultatives can be fragmented into three different types, strong, weak and pseudo-resultatives, as in (2). Washio argues that English allows all three (e.g., 4) but Japanese allows only weak and pseudo-resultatives. (e.g., 3). In this paper, I first argue that Korean is similar to English in allowing both strong and weak resultatives (e.g., 5) (cf. Shim and Den Dikken 2007), second I propose, building on Son and Svenonius (2008), that the right degree of variation in resultatives attested across languages is better explained by differences in the properties of individual lexical items, following a micro-parametric trend (e.g., Borer 1984), and third, I show how the proposed micro-parametric analysis captures differences between Korean, English and Japanese.

**II. VARIATION IN RESULTATIVES AND PARAMETER:** It is well known that languages such as English allow resultatives but languages such as Spanish don't. A number of researchers have analyzed this variation as a parameter (e.g., Snyder 1995, 2001). Snyder (1995), in particular, argues that the variation in resultatives is driven by the Compounding Parameter and Complex Predicate Constraint stated in (1). Thus, if a language is marked for (1a), it allows both N-N compounding and resultatives (e.g., English), while languages unmarked for (1a) disallow both (e.g., Spanish). Thus, his approach predicts that there is a tight correlation between N-N compounding and resultatives. However, it has been noted (Son and Svenonius 2008) that the correlation fails to hold when a broader range of cross-linguistic data is considered; Indonesian and Hebrew have N-N compounding but lack resultatives. Thus, the previous macro-parametric approach to variation in resultatives cannot explain the right degree of variation. Instead, I argue, focusing on Korean, Japanese and English, that differences among them in constructing resultatives are better explained by a micro-parametric analysis, according to which variation among languages is restricted to properties of individual lexical items.

**III. ANALYSIS:** The analysis is based on the 'constructivist' assumption that the meaning components that determine Aktionsart and argument structure are independent of conceptual structure (e.g., Ramchand 2008). Specifically, I assume that there are four structurally represented components in a resultative construction, as in (6), following Son and Svenonius (2008). Each must be 'lexicalized,' i.e. licensed by lexical insertion. At the top, there is a processual component, lexicalized by a verb. At the bottom, there is the end state, lexicalized by an AP. In between, there are two functional projections, one of which is an optional lower component of verbal meaning (Ramchand's RES for 'result'), and the other is an uppermost predicative layer for the state, PRED. All languages have process verbs and adjectives, so variation in the availability of resultative must reside in the availability of material to lexicalize RES and PRED. I argue that Japanese has a functional element that can lexicalize PRED (e.g., *-ni*) (e.g., 6b) and allows resultatives only with verbs that independently lexicalize RES, i.e., Washio's weak resultatives. Korean has a functional material to lexicalize both RES and PRED in the form of *-key*, as in (6a), and thus allows verbs of the *proc* type to combine with *-key* phrase, i.e., strong resultatives. English also has a (phonologically empty) functional material that lexicalizes RES allowing strong resultatives (I assume that PRED is lexicalized by adjectives in English, unlike Korean). I further show that resultative predicates occurring in a proposed construction in (6) must be state-denoting predicates. Thus, the seeming limitation on Korean resultatives, compared to English, is due to the fact that Korean often lacks stative-predicate counterparts of English resultative adjectives. For example, Korean lacks an adjective counterpart of 'bloody' in (4b). The closest translation of (4b) in Korean is (7), where 'bloody' is expressed in a phrasal/clausal form, 'the blood comes out'. I analyze secondary (phrasal) predicates such as 'phi-ka na-key' as a degree adjunct/modifier, rather than true resultatives based on a few syntactic and semantic facts. I also analyze examples such as (8) with a nominative-marked subject of a lower predicate as a modifier of the VP, rather than a complement, along the lines of Shim and Den Dikken (2007).

- (1) a. Compounding Parameter (Snyder 1995): The grammar {disallows\*, allows} formation of endocentric compounds during the syntactic derivation [\*unmarked value].  
 b. Complex Predicate Constraint: Two syntactically independent expressions can jointly characterize the event-type of a single event-argument, only if they constitute a single word (endocentric compound) at the point of semantic interpretation.

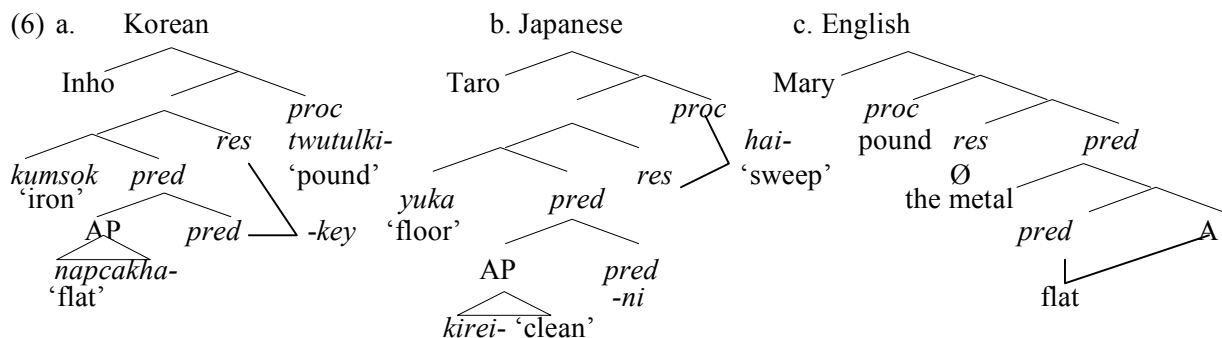
(2) Washio (1997)

- Finer-grained categorization of resultatives: strong, weak and pseudo resultatives  
 – Strong resultatives (e.g., *beat the man bloody*, *pound the metal flat*)  
 – Weak resultatives (e.g., *paint the wall red*, *wipe the table clean*)  
 – Pseudo resultatives (e.g., *tie the shoelaces tight/loose*)

- (3) a. Taro-ga yuka-o kirei-ni haita.      b. \*Taro-ga kinzoku-o usu-ku tataita.  
 Taro-NOM floor-ACC clean-NI sweep.PST      Taro-NOM metal-ACC thin-KU pound.PST  
 ‘Taro swept the floor clean.’      ‘Taro pounded the metal thin.’

- (4) a. John pounded the metal flat.      b. John beat the man bloody.

- (5) a. Mary-ka theyipul-ul kkakkusha-key takk-ass-ta.  
 Mary-NOM table-ACC clean-KEY wipe-PST-DC  
 ‘Mary wiped the table clean.’  
 b. Inho-ka kumsok-ul napcakha-key twutulki-ess-ta.  
 Inho-NOM metal-ACC flat-KEY pound-PST-DC  
 ‘Inho pounded the metal flat.’



- (7) John-un ku namca-lul phi-ka na-key ttayli-ess-ta.  
 John-TOP the man-ACC blood-NOM come-KEY beat-PST-DC  
 ‘John beat the man bloody.’

- (8) Inho-ka sinpal-i talh-key ttwi-ess-ta.  
 Inho-NOM shoes-NOM threadbare-KEY run-PST-DC  
 ‘Inho ran his shoes threadbare.’

Selected References:

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